


STRENGTH IN THE FACE OF ADVERSITY:
THE WOMEN OF HAMPTON PLANTATION

A REPORT SUBMITTED TO
HAMPTON PLANTATION STATE PARK

BY
KELLY OBERNUEFEMANN

McCLELLANVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
JANUARY 2000



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PREFACE

Kelly Obernuefemann, a doctoral candidate in American History from George Washington University, prepared this report at the request of the South Carolina State Park Service while working as a temporary employee of Hampton Plantation State Historic Site. The staff of Hampton Plantation will be able to use her report, "Strength in the Face of Adversity," to support new interpretive programs that increase visitors' understanding of women's history at Hampton.

INTRODUCTION

In the years before the Civil War, the Hampton plantation was the site of personal luxury, family love, and patriotic fervor and the home of some of the more remarkable women of the South Carolina lowcountry. When Daniel Horry married Harriott Pinckney in 1768, he married into one of the most renowned families in South Carolina. His mother-in-law -- who would take up residence with the Horry family in the coming years -- was the famous Eliza Lucas Pinckney, who had managed her father's plantations at the age of 16 and had made the cultivation of indigo profitable through her crop experimentation. Eliza's daughter, Harriott, had spent most of her life at her mother's side, learning from her mother's example and developing a strength of character equal to her mother's. Daniel Horry's 19-year-old bride was more than 10 years younger than he, and she brought a youthful spirit to Hampton, which became a thriving rice plantation and the site of many festive family gatherings. Soon after the marriage of Daniel and Harriott, Hampton would be filled with the laughter of their children, and in the decades to come it would be home to their grandchildren, nieces, and nephews.

However, Daniel Horry did not live to see the enormous growth of his family at Hampton. He died in 1785 before his two children reached maturity. In the absence of a family patriarch, Harriott Pinckney Horry reigned as mistress of Hampton and matriarch of the Horry family. She managed the family's holdings and introduced new technology to aid in the plantations' production. After the

ELIZA LUCAS PINCKNEY:
ROLE MODEL OF THE HAMPTON WOMEN

There is no doubt that Eliza Lucas Pinckney is one of the most famous women in the history of colonial America. She was born in 1723 and came to the colonies in 1738. Her experimentation with the growth and cultivation of indigo resulted in its becoming one of the staple crops of the southern colonies. Her accomplishments were made possible by a keen intellect and an unusual degree of independence. Eliza was a very well-read, well-informed woman. Distinguished women's historian Catherine Clinton has written, "In general it was considered unbecoming and unladylike for a female to initiate any political discussion. If a man wanted to engage a woman in conversation on a controversial topic, that was his prerogative, but the expectation that a woman be a well-educated, vivacious conversationalist did not include knowledge of political issues or opinions."¹ Men were afraid that women would embarrass the family. Eliza, however, kept track of world affairs such as the French and Spanish wars in Europe and taxation, and was a firm believer in the intellectual ability of women. She made sure her daughter received a proper education also. She wrote in a letter to Master Mackenzie, "[Harriott] is fond of learning, and I indulge her in it. It shall not be my fault if she roams abroad for amusement, as I believe 'tis want of knowing how to employ [*sic*] themselves agreeably that make many women too fond of going abroad."²

¹ Catherine Clinton, Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 181.

² Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Master Mackenzie, c. 1760, as quoted in Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney 1739-1762, ed. Elise Pinckney (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 142.

Eliza's desire for her daughter to have an education came decades before the movement for female academies. It was not until the early 19th century that planters began to hire female teachers to teach both their sons and their daughters, and female academies were established in the South. Madame Datty and Madame Talvanne fled Santo Domingo during the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s and later established schools in Charleston, South Carolina. According to Clinton, "Julia Datty cultivated an exclusive clientele, including the Manigaults, the Coupers, and many other wealthy lowcountry planters."³ Although no specific references have been found, it is likely that the Pinckneys and Horrys followed the example of their fellow rice planters the Manigaults and sent their daughters to the school in the early 1800s.

In addition to her interest in women's education, Eliza Pinckney had a strong interest in spirituality and frequently extolled the need for "virtue." As a young woman, she wrote, "The Christian religion is what the wisest men in all ages have assented too [*sic*]. When I speak of religion I mean such as is delivered in the scripture without any view to any particular party with exclusion of all the rest." Her reference to "the wisest men" was not meant to exclude women. After observing a comet in the sky in 1742, she wrote, ". . . if it is any mortal transformed to this glorious luminary, why not a woman."⁴

Her desire for a virtuous life no doubt influenced the following vow that she made to herself:

I am resolved to make a good mistress to my Servants, to treat them with humanity, and good nature; to give them sufficient and comfortable clothing and provisions, and all things necessary for them, to be careful and tender of them in their sickness, to reprove them for

³ Clinton, Plantation Mistress, 127-28.

⁴ Undated letter c. 1742, Letterbook, 53; Letter c. March-April 1742, *ibid.*, 31.

their faults, to encourage them when they do well, and pass over small faults; not to be tyrannical, peevish or impatient towards them but to make their lives as comfortable as I can.⁵

Her benevolence extended to the education of her slaves. While running her father's plantations, young Eliza Lucas taught two slave girls to read and intended for those girls to teach other slaves. In a letter to her friend Miss Bartlett in April 1742 Eliza wrote that she had "two black girls who I teach to read, and if I have my papa's approbation (my Mama's I have got) I intend [them] for school mistress for the rest of the Negroe children" ⁶ Her "school" was conducted in the years before control over slaves became more strict and education was explicitly forbidden.

Her efforts at slave education were probably a form of entertainment as Eliza was constantly looking for ways to keep herself busy. As a young woman, she learned to play the flute in addition to her studies of agriculture. She liked music very much and referred to it as "my own darling amusement . . . which I indulge in more than in any other." ⁷ After her marriage to Charles Pinckney, she devoted herself to her husband and children, but after her husband had died and her children were grown with families of their own, Eliza once again sought ways to amuse herself. Like most plantation women, Eliza enjoyed reading novels, and traded books back and forth with her friends despite the negative connotation given to novel reading. "Although plantation mistresses generally professed disapproval, popular novels found an increasingly wide audience among them." ⁸ Eliza Huger,

⁵ Undated letter 11/332/3, Pinckney-Lowndes Papers, Harriott H. Ravenel Collection, South Carolina Historical Society, hereafter cited as SCHS.

⁶ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Miss Bartlett April 1742, as quoted in Letterbook, 34.

⁷ Undated letter c. 1742, *ibid.*, 49.

⁸ Clinton, Plantation Mistress, 173.

who was obviously very aware of the "negative influence" of novels, wrote the following to Eliza Pinckney:

When you are inclined for a very high diversion I will send you the female 'Quixote' which tho [*sic*] not quite so well wrote as the Don, of that name, will afford you a good deal of entertainment from the absurdities she comments. When you have read it, [I] shall be very much obliged for your opinion, whether it is not a very proper book for young Folks, to show them the consequences of being too fond of those books which all girls would rather read than things of more consequence.

Eliza Huger was aware of her friend's loneliness while living in Charleston apart from her family, who were residing in Christ Church Parish and St. James Santee Parish. She wrote of her sympathy for the fact that Eliza Pinckney's only comfort at the moment was her grandson Daniel, who had been left with his grandmother when his parents and sister returned to Hampton.⁹ Eliza thoroughly enjoyed spending time with her grandson, who was often left with her in the years before his father's death. For example, in 1773, Daniel, who was about 4 years old at the time, was left with Eliza "as the measles were at Hampton."¹⁰ However, he was often left with Eliza simply for the pleasure of a visit. Eliza wrote to her daughter from the Belmont Plantation:

That I love my Children above all sublinary beings (my self not excepted) is most certain. have I not given you . . . proof of it my dear Harriott in refusing to taken my sweet Child with me, though you and Mr. Horry were so good to offer him to me? I applaud your self -denial, and esteem myself your debtor, though I was disinterested enough to forego the pleasure; I wonder at my own isolation after the dear little creature[']s reply to some body that asked him if he was going to Belmont: that he would chose to go, but Grandmama would not have

⁹ Letter from Eliza Huger to Eliza Pinckney, n.d., Pinckney, Rutledge, and Horry personal correspondence 1763-1874, Francis B. Stewart Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

¹⁰ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Thomas Pinckney 8 April 1773, Eliza Lucas Pinckney letters, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, hereafter cited as SCL.

Independence is all I want and a little will make us that. Don't grieve for me my child as I assure you I do not for myself. While I have such children dare I think my lot hard? God forbid!¹³

Her great affection for her children and grandchildren was obviously reciprocated, and Harriott welcomed her mother's company at Hampton in the years following Daniel Horry's death. In fact, Eliza seems to have been held in high esteem by all who met her, and after her death from breast cancer in 1793, President George Washington served as one of her pall bearers.

¹³ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Thomas Pinckney, c. 1780, Pinckney Family Papers, letter 38-2-6, SCHS.

THE TWO HARRIOTTS:
PLANTATION MISTRESSES AND MANAGERS

Harriott Pinckney, who was born in 1748, grew up knowing that she was a member of an elite family, and she enjoyed all the privileges of that elite status. She spent six formative years in England in the 1750s, traveling widely and visiting with the royal family.¹⁴ Like most young girls, she discussed love and future marriage with her friends. During her courtship with Daniel Horry, who was more than 10 years her senior, she wrote to a friend:

The conquest you tell me I have made both pleases and makes me vain. I would rather have the esteem of the good old gentleman than of half the young fellows I know as their regard is often founded on whim and caprice and his I flatter myself would be guided by more judgement and . . . a more solid basis . . .

You think I could not pay you a visit at so dull a place as Santee, indeed you are mistaken. I would gladly undertake the jaunt if I could with Propriety. I love the country and I know my good Mama would indulge me in it but what would the good natured Town say as I was never in that part of the country before? Why that I went to throw myself in the way of some Gentleman Old or Young and how repugnant as well as hurtful that would be to female delicacy you can well judge.

But Harriott was willing to eschew Charleston society for plantation life -- even for life at a plantation in the "dull" St. James Santee Parish. She continued:

I hate affectation and would not pretend to more Wisdom than commonly falls to the share of Girls of any age and tho [sic] I own I love society and like to partake of some of the pleasures and amusements of the season extremely well I am serious when I say I would not live in a constant round of them upon any account . . .¹⁵

¹⁴ Hampton Plantation State Park: Master Plan, 1979, pg. 12.

¹⁵ Letter from Harriott Pinckney April 1766, copied in her 1763-67 letterbook, Harriott H. Ravenel Collection, SCHS.

Of course, the courtship was successful, and Harriott agreed to become the wife of the St. James Santee rice planter. She wrote:

The world says Mr. Horry had great reason to believe before he offered he should succeed, but this I know nothing of for as the Town complimented me with being the object of his attachment, was I to ask questions it would be taken notice of and animadverted upon.¹⁶

Marriage was not something to be taken lightly. The elite families of Charleston guarded their lineage by making sure that family members married into families of equal status. "Planters openly interfered in their married children's business affairs; more often than not, the marriage contract was but one of many legal documents cementing the relations between father and sons-in-law."¹⁷ Nineteen-year-old Harriott Pinckney, however, did not have a father that needed to be impressed. Instead, she had a mother who did not pressure her into marriage. In fact, it seems that Eliza Pinckney did not support the practice of marrying off daughters in their teens. In March 1775, she sent news from Charleston to her daughter and wrote: "Becky Dooley's wedding trapings are gone up, poor child! She is not quite fourteen."¹⁸ But Eliza approved of her daughter's marriage and had great affection for Daniel Horry. Despite the success Eliza found as an independent woman, she was happy that her daughter had found a husband to share her life. Like other women of planter families, Eliza believed that a woman could find contentment in running a household. In March 1768 she wrote to her

¹⁶ Undated letter, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, 44.

¹⁸ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Harriott Horry 1 March 1775, Eliza Lucas Pinckney letters, SCL.

new son-in-law, "I am glad your little wife looks well to the ways of her husband."¹⁹

A year after becoming a wife, Harriott Horry became a mother. She wrote to her brother, who was in England, in 1769 to tell him of the birth of her son. Although most women did not speak of such delicate matters, Harriott seemed proud to inform him that she was nursing her child herself instead of engaging a wetnurse. She also told her brother that baby Daniel was "not remarkably handsome."²⁰ A year later, Harriott was born. However, being a mother did not deter Harriott Horry's social life; as she had mentioned years earlier, she loved society. Sue Alston, who married a descendent of Hampton slaves, reminisced to an interviewer about a ball that lasted all night. She said, "That tell you somethin', Missus, 'bout the social life of Missus Harriott and Marse Daniel. There never be anything like it. Never before nor since."²¹

Not even a war could detract from the social whirl. Although soaring inflation and scarcity of food plagued lowcountry residents, the years of the American Revolution were exciting for Harriott Horry. Her brother Thomas was camped with the Patriots in Charles Town and frequently urged his sister to "bring lady friends" with her to town for dances.²² Harriott's husband Daniel had been a political leader before the outbreak of war, and after the commencement of hostilities, he led a regiment of dragoons. In his absence,

¹⁹ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Daniel Horry 4 March 1768, Pinckney Family Papers, letter 38-2-1, SCHS.

²⁰ Letter from Harriott Horry to brother, c. 1769, Pinckney Family Papers, letter 38-2-4, SCHS.

²¹ Nancy Rhyne, ed. John Henry Rutledge: the Ghost of Hampton Plantation: a parable (Orangeburg, S.C.: Sandlapper Pub. Co., 1997), 11.

²² Walter J. Fraser, Jr., Patriots, Pistols, and Petticoats (Charleston: Charleston County Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 100-105.

Harriott was far from lonely. She was joined at Hampton by her mother, her sister-in-law Sally, some of Sally's relatives, and various other female family friends, who were seeking refuge from the British invasion. She also had a more auspicious guest -- Patriot General Francis Marion, the Swamp Fox. Family tradition tells that in one instance, "the fidelity of the servants and the coolness of the mistress" saved Marion from capture during a visit to Hampton.²³ Even after the war ended and the women returned to their homes, it had a lasting impact on Harriott's social life. She enjoyed visits from General LaFayette and President George Washington, who, it is said, suggested that the oak tree in front of the house be spared from the ax.

The American Revolution probably prepared Harriott for running the plantation after her husband's death in 1785. Her training came during a difficult period when many women were forced to run plantations and farms in the absence of husbands and fathers who were fighting (at least periodically). Little did Harriott know that her temporary management of Hampton in her husband's absence would become a permanent position. Like all plantation mistresses, Harriott had overseen the household and had done several household chores herself from the time of her marriage. Eliza Pinckney wrote to her new son-in-law of Harriott's interests shortly after their wedding:

The management of a Dairy is an amusement she has been always fond of, and 'tis a very useful one, I will answer for it . . . I find as you say she asks for instructions far and near . . . she has people out gathering samples, different kinds of snake-roots and pink wort and is distilling herbs and flowers.²⁴

²³ Mary Bray Wheeler and Genon Hickerson Neblett, Hidden Glory: the life and times of Hampton Plantation, legend of the south Santee (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1983), 39.

²⁴ Letter from Eliza Pinckney to Daniel Horry 4 March 1768, Pinckney Family Papers, letter 38-2-1, SCHS.

Although the popular perception of plantation mistresses is one involving a life of leisure, southern women were actually kept quite busy tending to household affairs. Historian Catherine Clinton wrote:

Whether in the city or the country, southern women were gracious and conscientious homemakers. Matrons managed the household budget, dealt with local merchants, and handled all internal matters of finance. Even without the work created by their husbands' slaveowning, the numerous tasks of antebellum housekeeping kept plantation mistresses busy: gardening, dairy activities, salting pork, preserving fruits and vegetables, mixing medicines, the making of candles, soap, rugs, pillows, linen, bedding, and so on.

The chores of candlemaking and soapmaking were especially time-consuming. "Although slaves occasionally participated in the soapmaking, plantation mistresses thought the dipping of candles was too complex to trust to anyone but themselves." A day's work that yielded thirty dozen candles would only provide "a month's supply of candlelight."²⁵

While it was common for plantation women to make decisions regarding household work and finances, it was rare in peacetime for a woman to make decisions on a regular basis about the field work, such as which type of crops to plant and in what quantity. But the women of Hampton did just that. Harriott Horry and other notable women throughout the South followed in Eliza Pinckney's footsteps, proving that daughters and widows could competently run a plantation or farm without men. "But even a mistress who demonstrated a clear ability to manage her plantation as a discrete economic unit and make it pay was not permitted by law to handle personal or business affairs in the public sphere."²⁶ In those instances, Harriott depended upon her brothers or an

²⁵ Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, 21, 24.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

overseer. Like their mother, Eliza's children were interested in agricultural experimentation. Thomas

Pinckney experimented with the growth of flax and different methods of rice cultivation. He often gave advice to his sister, but Harriott, who had opinions of her own, did not always heed his advice. In 1822, Thomas advised Harriott to plant only subsistence crops and cotton while negotiating an annuity with her son, who remained abroad, leaving the management of Hampton to his mother. In this instance, Harriott ignored her brother's advice and planted rice anyway. Unfortunately, the rice crop did not turn out well, and Thomas noted that she could only hope to recoup about half of her expenses.²⁷ Her son, who had changed his name to Charles Lucas Pinckney Horry, briefly returned to South Carolina in 1816. Harriott's friend Sarah Huger wrote to her in anticipation of his arrival and expressed what was surely a popular opinion among the other plantation women -- that Harriott should not be concerning herself with management of plantation fields. She wrote:

I hope the winds have been propitious, and that he is now enjoying the comforts of a Mother's fireside, where the family must combine to keep him, or conspire to transmute the Lands and negroes into some property more easily managed; The charge of his estate, united with your own is productive of too much labor to one who certainly ought now to enjoy some respite, some cessation from constant exertion²⁸

Although Harriott Horry remained in control of the family's holdings until her death, she was aided by her son-in-law Frederick Rutledge and her grandsons Frederick and Edward Rutledge in her later years.

²⁷ Letter from Thomas Pinckney to Harriott Pinckney Horry 13 March 1822 and Letter from Thomas Pinckney to Harriott Pinckney Horry 6 December 1822, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

²⁸ Letter from Sarah Huger to Harriott Horry 5 March 1816, Pinckney-Lowndes Papers, SCHS.

Under Harriott Horry's management, the plantations remained prosperous, and she continued to provide a life of luxury for the family. For example, in 1786 she purchased an elegant English coach for 100 tierces of rice. According to family tradition, she also ordered the construction of Hampton's portico in the early 1790s.²⁹ Most plantation mistresses could not afford the luxury of fashion, but Harriott Horry had at least one hand-painted silk dress. Unlike many women of the planter class, Harriott was often able to escape the isolation of plantation life and spend time in Charleston where she was able to see and emulate the latest fashions and trends.

In addition to these frivolities, Harriott was very interested in technological innovations to improve production on the family plantations. In 1793 she accompanied her mother to Philadelphia where Eliza unsuccessfully sought treatment for her breast cancer. While in the North, Harriott toured mills, iron works, brickyards, and canals. Of all the sites she saw on her journey, she preferred the industry of the North to the countryside of North Carolina, where, she wrote, "you scarcely see any thing but dirt, drinking, swearing, gaming, poverty and wretchedness, some good road being the only thing in it passable." She returned to the North in 1815, and after touring a textile factory, she wrote in her journal:

[At the factory] I saw the carding machines which are worked by manual Laborers. I was hopeful these might have assisted in our Domestic Manufactures on the plantations but they are too complicated for that purpose, they appear just as much so as those which we have seen worked by water turned cylinders in [h]ow they are turned by the blind men in the infirmary one at a time and card and make into nice rolls ready for spinning 25 pr day.

²⁹ Hampton Plantation: Master Plan, 14.

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²⁹ Hampton Plantation: Master Plan, 14.

On the journey back to Hampton she wrote, "I am still unsuccessful with regard to a carding machine for our plantations."³⁰

Harriott's observations about the poverty she encountered in North Carolina are just one indication of her classist feelings. Harriott Horry was a

³⁰ Travel journals of Harriott Pinckney Horry 1793, 1815, SCHS.

quintessential planter class woman in that she engaged in charitable deeds while looking down on people who were not of the same elite class as she. Most upper-class women joined charitable societies as a way of spreading their paternalism to the lower classes. Harriott was no exception; she served as one of the "superintending ladies" of Charleston's Orphan House until 1822. She also was asked by her brother Thomas to take on an elderly white couple at Hampton to help mind the "little turkeys and ducklings" and help manage the dairy.³¹ But she clearly did not believe that members of the lower classes should associate with the elite planter class. It is evident from her travel journals that she could not abide people who were not polite to her, and she could not stand the drunks in the hostleries. She also expected prompt attention. For example, she wrote in 1793:

At Rufins we could scarce gain admittance and were so grudgingly recd. that we expected to sit all night in the hall; however after Maria's doing penance three hours with a fever and sore throat we had beds given us and a tolerable supper.

She encountered similar situations during her travels in 1815. She wrote:

Went on to Petersburg and found . . . dirty accomodations . . . neither Master or Mistress of the house appearing and every thing left to the negroes, and for our dirty fare paid more than we have . . . any where else.

Even when the food was good, the company often was not.

[In Pennsylvania] where we put up, the fare is good but different from the other large Inns. We had no private room nor even as select a society as in a boarding house, but the stage passengers or [any] Tom, Dick and Harry as may happen to come in are associated with you . . .³²

³¹ Letter from Thomas Pinckney to Harriott Horry 24 February 1809, Thomas Pinckney Papers, SCL. The couple walked to Pinckney's El Dorado plantation from James Island looking for work. See also letter from John Dawson, chairman of the Orphan House, to Harriott Horry 28 November 1822 acknowledging her resignation, Pinckney-Lowndes Papers, SCHS.

³² Travel journals, SCHS. Maria was one of Harriott's nieces.

to get out a box of brown sugar to be distributed among the slave women, and he should take Grace with him as "she knows how I arrange things."³⁵

Harriott Horry Rutledge inherited the classism of her mother with fatal results. She doted on son John Henry, who was given free rein to explore the woods and swamps as a child. When it came time for him to choose a wife, Harriott exerted her control and refused to allow him to marry the daughter of a pharmacist. As a result, John Henry became depressed and shot himself in his room at Hampton. Ten-year-old Mary Esther Huger wrote of his suicide in a letter:

. . . our Cousin John Rutledge who killed himself because a druggist refused to let him marry his pretty daughter, as Mrs. Rutledge had told him, however good his child might be, it would be impossible to receive her into her family -- which he probably expected & thought right -- as social lines were more strong then . . .³⁶

Memories of the tragedy likely contributed to the family's desire to spend most of their time away from Hampton. By the time Harriott Rutledge died in 1858, the family spent most of the year at Charleston, at the newly-established McClellanville, or at the family's mountain retreat in North Carolina.

³⁵ Letter from Harriott Rutledge to Edward Rutledge 14 April 1838, Rutledge Family Papers, SCL.

³⁶ As quoted in Wheeler and Neblett, Hidden Glory, 71-72.

CONCLUSION

The Hampton plantation was home to some exceptional women of the South Carolina lowcountry. The name Eliza Lucas Pinckney will forever be found in American history textbooks. The example she set for her daughter and granddaughter was a powerful influence on Hampton's management, and Eliza established a place for her family in South Carolina society that would be enjoyed by generations to come. The high esteem in which Eliza Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry were held can be seen by the fact that many parents -- family members and mere acquaintances -- named their babies after these two women. For example, as late as 1856, A. L. and Catherine Jane Michel named their daughter Eliza Lucas.³⁷

After Harriott Rutledge's death in 1858, the family's Harrietta plantation -- sister plantation of Hampton -- and its slaves were sold to pay substantial debts. The rest of the family's slaves would soon become emancipated and leave the plantation that had prospered through their labor. The glory days of Hampton and the Horrys were over, but their legacy continued in the writings of Archibald Rutledge in the 20th century. Like his ancestors before him, Rutledge treasured the plantation house near the Santee River. After her travels in 1793, Harriott Pinckney Horry wrote in her journal: "Taking every thing into consideration I still prefer my own home to any other I have seen and we are all rejoiced at landing safe at Hampton on Saturday Even'g."³⁸

³⁷ See obituary for 2-year-old Eliza Lucas Michel, Daily Courier (Charleston), 5 October 1858.

³⁸ Travel journal 1793, SCHS.

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